5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

adjoining village, might receive land at a later date when that woman's daughter married, according to the rule, in her mother's home village. This kind of pattern is described by Hogbin (1967:24) for the Wogeo, who operate a system of land dowries in conjunction with second-degree patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Often land is granted, on a temporary or even life-long basis, to persons other than sisters or daughters. Land transfers may arise in a variety of social relationships which cannot be easily categorised. In Inonda, where the village domain is rather large, land is often lent by one lineage to another so that cultivation areas can be close together or contiguous. This is done because people like to work at not too great a distance from one another. In Sivepe, some land loans were made from a similar motive, mostly for rubber gardens. When migrants from Garombi[2] settled in Sivepe, several grants of land were made to them, both for taro and yam gardens. Such arrangements do not usually extend beyond the life time of the recipient although I do know of exceptions. If the gift endures, it signifies a close and permanent bond between families who may be unrelated by kinship.

From the viewpoint I have adopted in this work, two questions are of special interest in the analysis of land transfers: what social benefits are being exchanged between the partners; and what are the symbolic motives for using land as an object of mediation in these relationships? In order to approach these questions, I shall first cite some situations in which land transfers are of practical use and common occurrence:

1. Land transfers from wife's father to daughter's husband used to be very common, especially in the early years of marriage. A man was expected to help his wife's father with gardening and other tasks, and to stay with him for a year or so. During this period, the father-in-law gave the couple a garden for their own use. On occasion, this might be a garden to which the daughter had been granted a permanent usehold. This type of bride-service is very much on the decline today, as the payment of a substantial bridewealth in money acts as a substitute. I encountered the custom once or twice and found that the son-in-law regarded himself as the father-in-law's 'worker' or servant. We may therefore regard this type of land transfer as offering to the donor the satisfaction of seeing the receiver reduced in social status.

2. In the other types of cases I shall mention, transfers of land do not place recipients in a position of social inferiority. Certainly, in many cases harvest gifts are expected from the borrowers of land but these tend to be small in size and to lack any implications of status difference. For instance, many transfers are made by widowers. These men have a choice between attaching themselves to the family of a son, a daughter or a sister's son. In Sivepe, I found that each of these choices was made twice in a total of six cases with which I am familiar. In all the cases where an old man attached himself to a daughter or sister's son, he made transfers of land to those who looked after him. The choice he makes is prompted primarily by mutual affection but nonetheless his position is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that he has some tangible way of showing his gratitude, namely in the form of land. If he is unhappy with one relative and moves to another, some part of his inheritance will probably move with him.

3. Cripples and widows are often in a similar position. They may need a

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

423 man to take responsibility while their sons are still too young. This man will
431 'look after' their land in an economic, political and religious sense and will restore
736 it to the son or sons when they come of age. But in the cases of which I have knowledge, some land is likely to stay with the protector, who often becomes an heir of the widow or cripple.

423 4. In all the cases mentioned so far land is an object representing
591 respectable status and exchangeable for services of a quasi-filial nature. The same
583 applies to most instances I know of uxorilocal marriage. Here it was usually the wife's relatives who desired the husband to stay with them, whereas the latter had no pressing reasons to leave his home village. They were generous in their offers of land, and no sensible man would move without such inducement. After the eruption of Mount Lamington, the survivors of the Sangara tribe, greatly reduced in numbers, offered generous land portions, on a wholly permanent basis, to men who would marry uxorilocally. Widowers dependent on the care of their daughters will encourage uxorilocal marriage in the same way. (The frequency of uxorilocal marriage among the Orokaiva is between 5 and 10 per cent.) In these cases it is clear that land donors are motivated by the desire to attract the son-in-law, and that the son-in-law is motivated by pleasure at the status he will gain as symbolised by the land he is allowed to 'look after'.

423 5. A very similar motivation may be found for the land transfers made in
425 Sivepe in 1966–7 to families who had migrated from neighbouring Garombi.
166 Seeking an increase in population, Sivepe leaders frequently encouraged dissident minorities in some neighbouring villages to join them. When the Garombi people came, a good deal of effort was made to obligate them and attract their friendship and loyalty. Two men gave useholds over gardens and one man gave a usehold over three yam gardens. It is likely that there were other transfers as well, just before I left the field and afterwards. One of the men who received a taro garden started using the donor's plant emblem when working in that garden, thus emphasising the closeness of the bond with the donor's family, as plant emblems are normally transmitted only by descent. Here the donors were motivated by a desire to attach the immigrants more closely to themselves, and the recipients gave friendship and loyalty in return. Here, as in uxorilocal residence, the migrants' willingness to settle in the village was itself treated as a benefit bestowed upon the local people by the migrants.

423 6. As already mentioned, the transfer of land to sisters and daughters is
428 very common. It is the rule that, in the absence of brothers and sons, sisters and
425 daughters should inherit land in preference to second degree kin. I know of several instances where absent brothers and sons were overlooked in favour of sisters and daughters resident in the village. Even if brothers and sons are living in the village, some land may be transferred to females. This will occur especially if a daughter's or sister's husband is known to be short of gardening land. In addition, it may occur for the kind of reasons given by Lawrence in his discussion of land transfers among the Garia, i.e. the enhanced status gained by the mother's brother when he acquires a junior follower strongly dependent on
[554] him. Among the Orokaiva where the majority of people marry close to home, a man's generosity to his sister may yield him quite a number of loyal supporters if the sister happened to have many children.

423 7. Land is sometimes made available by an individual *enda mama* for a
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5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

One might well regard such immoderate claims as the response to a breakdown in the social exchange relationship. According to model 17, increased rights over land should mediate an *increased* quasi-filial allegiance, implying an increased willingness to aid and share with maternal relatives. Such, however, was rarely in evidence. On the contrary, most coffee-growers, engrossed in the new task of growing coffee, tended to ease up on their family obligations, gave fewer feasts and were apt to neglect their maternal relatives. This was especially so because Church influence reduced the scope of initiation ceremonial which is one of the traditional key functions of the maternal family. Certainly the maternal family hardly shares at all, under normal circumstances, in the increased wealth generated by coffee-growing. Thus the uterine landowner feels relatively alienated from his affluent nephew.

In order to demonstrate the importance of quasi-filial allegiance as a factor in land transactions, I shall cite one case, again from Inonda, where coffee gardens are being run profitably on land over which the grower holds only 'permissive' rights. The three coffee gardens established in 1955, and still harvested in 1967, are on land owned by the Endehi'undi clan but relinquished after a defeat in war. It has been used by Andiriha of Inonda since 1915. When Inonda people started to grow coffee, Endehi'undi reclaimed this land. Inonda paid $32 in cash, as well as pigs, traditional valuables and taro, in other words, a very substantial consideration (Crocombe and Hogbin *ibid.*: 73) After a few years, as Andiriha continued to benefit from the coffee, it became obvious that Endehi'undi did not regard this consideration as a *sale* price as Andiriha hoped they would do. They saw it as no more than a proper display of quasi-filial allegiance, and expected this sort of gesture to be repeated, or to recover the land.

The Andiriha leader now invited a widower belonging to the Endehi'undi group to move into his household. The invitation was accepted and in 1967 the old man was still there. There was no further trouble over the coffee although Andiriha did not tempt fate by making further plantings. By Orokaiva legal concepts, the balance was restored. By a shrewd manoeuvre, the Andiriha leader had found a way to offer increased quasi-filial allegiance in such a way that the profit from the coffee gardens was not reduced too much.

Instances of this kind help us to understand what was involved in the Orokaiva system of residual or dual rights over land and dual allegiance owed by individuals to different families from which land useholds are derived. We have long tended to believe that the basic co-operating groups in primitive societies are *corporate* groups. The Orokaiva data presented here show a second possibility: namely a system by which individuals derive their land, and therefore their sustenance, from a cluster of corporate groups in only one of which they are a corporate member, although they maintain permanent exchange relationships with the others. These other corporations do not make them permanent gifts but leave them conditional upon the successful continuation of the relationship. The fact that a man holds land on such terms *forces* him to continue the relationship.

It is impossible, therefore, to say just what constitute 'residual' rights in land. In the example I analysed, it appears that a group's rights include rights to coffee when it lives in another village, but not when a member of that group stays in the house of one of the growers and is fed by that grower's wife. Perhaps the

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

431 824 1. The recipient's household was receiving a guest from a different village, or a family member returning after a period of absence. In such a case, the guest would invariably be specified as the recipient of the gift. Informants would also say that they were 'helping' the host household.

[846] 2. A woman in the recipient's household had just had a baby. In such a case the woman herself was forbidden to go to her garden (*post partum* taboo) so she had to be helped by others who would bring her food.

[464] 3. After any death in a household, food would be brought by women from a number of households, again because death places a taboo upon the garden of the bereaved family.

There were also certain stereotyped situations where people felt they must make gifts of taro, but where no special ceremony was necessary. Here the food was often sent through the donor's children:

[476] [621] 4. The recipient had performed some service for the donor's household during the day. The gift in such cases was not really a payment for services rendered, though sometimes it was explained to me that so-and-so was sent some food because he had been unable to do his garden that day: he had spent the day helping the donor. Such an explanation was always unsatisfactory because the man's wife had usually gone to the garden. Also, it would be very wrong to suppose that there was something like a free labour market and that a day's work could be purchased for a meal. It is better to assume that the two households were on an intimate footing, were in the habit of sending each other food occasionally, and that such gifts never signified more than a confirmation of the warm feelings existing between them. When a man had just been helping the donor household, such an affirmation of warm feelings would be especially appropriate.

[736] 5. The recipient was too old to grow for himself all the food he needed. In such a case he or she rarely moved into the household of a younger couple. There are actually a number of strict rules which make such an arrangement most uncomfortable for Orokaiva. For instance, spouses are not allowed to quarrel in the presence of a parent or an affine. Until an elderly person becomes very sick, he or she lives in a separate house, but cooked food is sent to that house regularly by one or more women who look after the old person.

6. Food was also sent, as a matter of common obligation, to the house of a person who was sick or disabled.

[621] These cases by no means exhaust the occasions when taro gifts were made. There were, in addition, certain households with which relations were so close that food was sent over several times a week, even in the absence of any particular reason. One might say that such households lived in a state of semi-commensality. Though they each ate in or in front of their own houses, they tended to spend the evenings together sitting and chatting around the same fire. In the mornings they would sit together before going to their gardens.

824 431 621 437 The proper form in which to present taro in all the cases discussed so far was without the taro tops, cut up, cooked and ready for eating. These gifts signified no more than a simple extension of commensality from the mostly nuclear

such cases much of the meat is distributed. However, if an individual wishes to organise a pig-feast he normally arranges an initial exchange of pigs with another person (frequently with one to whom he had previously given a piglet to look after until it matured), only killing and preparing the pig so received. Similarly, when a number of people are hunting together, whoever catches anything will immediately make a gift of it to another member of the party.

A small proportion of all transactions comprises goods given in charity to the old and infirm, one item falling specifically in this category being firewood. In such cases no return is expected.

(ii) Labour services. Of the sample's activity time, 3.9 per cent was directed to rendering labour services, almost all of which were on a non-monetary basis. As with subsistence produce an overall balance is registered but, since assistance is frequently reciprocated in the form of gifts of food, this fact conceals substantial internal variations within the sample. Of labour services acquired, 55 per cent were directed to two men: Umbahapa, the oldest person and a widower living alone, and Linton, the most active and highly regarded of the men,[1] while eleven individuals received no assistance whatsoever. By contrast all but one individual gave some assistance to a member of another household and no one person accounted for more than 12 per cent of all assistance rendered.

Similarly, as demonstrated by data on the composition of work groups,[2] the range of activities over which labour services are exchanged is very restricted. Eighty-eight per cent fall within the subsistence sector and of these over half occur in construction and sago-making. Among cash cropping activities assistance is commonly provided only in the pulping and washing of coffee (see Fig.10:1). Such services are therefore largely confined to activities where, firstly, the labour resources of the nuclear family are normally inadequate for their effective completion, as, for example, construction and sago-making and, secondly, immediate compensation is expected, as, again, in sago-making, in harvesting yams, helping with the exchanging and butchering of pigs, and hunting.

(iii) Storebought goods. While products of the external sector circulate through the gift exchange system, acquisitions predominate and comprise 88 per cent of the total volume transacted. Goods received from the researchers apart, most derive from relatives currently residing outside the subsistence village context - either as settlers at Sangara or in wage employment. The data incorporate

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[1] For a detailed account of the activities of these two men, see pp.117-21, 126-7.

[2] See pp.114-17.

A, [See Category 551, pp. 117-119; Category 461, pp. 120-121; Category 512, pp. 126-127--Analyst]
B, [See Category 461, pp. 114-117--Analyst]